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the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. I.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

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have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities. Private establishments consisted of a large sleeping house on a stone platform, a cook house near-by, a sacred house for old men, a house for storing food, and in the near vicinity a sacred place. The chief's establishment was the community center. It included his sleeping house, which was larger and more elaborate than most private dwellings and was built on a stone platform; his cook house, storage house, the dwellings of his attendants on stone platforms; a warriors' house, also on a stone platform; a paved dance area, on which were sometimes special houses for canoes, for the preparation of feasts, or the like, with surrounding platforms for spectators, on which were erected temporary structures at the times of rites and festivals; ovens; a temple, which was usually associated with this feast place and with the chief's establishment; and a *vai ke'etu,* an enclosed, fresh-water basin made of cut, red stone slabs, reserved as the sacred bathing place of the chief's eldest son. In secluded and usually elevated locations there were other sacred places *(me'ae),* which also belonged to the chief and served for tribal ceremonial and burial. These consisted of platforms, houses, and images. A feature of many such sacred places is a great banyan tree. Another type of sacred place, which belonged to the tribe as a whole, was that consecrated to the female spirits called *fanaua,* which were supposed to kill pregnant women. These places sometimes consisted of a simple platform, or simply of a single stone, or might not be distinguished by any structure or mark. Lastly there were the sacred places where fishermen stayed at the times of their labor and where the canoes and nets and sacred appurtenances of the fishing craft were kept. These were sacred or restricted areas near the sea, within which were houses for the fishermen, for the canoes, for the nets, and for the rites of the fishermen. In some places, but not everywhere, platforms were associated with these sacred areas.

Every tribe, then, had its political and religious heads, its civil chief, and its high priest acting as the instrument of the tribal god, who seems to have been always a deified chief or high priest of some former time. Every tribe had at least one *me'ae,* or temple, and at least one *tohua,* or feast and dance place. These were regarded as the property of the chief as head of the tribe. In determining the political activity of the tribe in relationship to other tribes, it appears that the high priest was equally as influential as the chief. The larger of the tribes appear also to have had almost always a sacred place consecrated to the work of the fishermen of the tribe. The land on which the tribe lived was regarded as the property of the chief as political head of the group. The chief referred to all the people of his tribe as *hua'a,* the same word as is used for blood and adop-

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merely a survival of the use of a sign, respect for which is based on the more recent conception of property rights, which has come with the white man.

Melville (23, p. 252) unwittingly gives us examples of the use of *kahui* in Tai-pi:

> Frequently in walking through the groves I observed breadfruit and coconut trees, with a wreath of leaves twined in a peculiar fashion about their trunks. This was the mark of the taboo. The trees themselves, their fruit, and even the shadows they cast upon the ground, were consecrated by its presence. In the same way a pipe, which the king has bestowed upon me, was rendered sacred in the eyes of the natives, none of whom could I ever prevail upon to smoke from it. The bowl was encircled by a woven band of grass, somewhat resembling those Turks' head occasionally worked in the handles of our whip-stalks. A similar badge was once braided about my wrist by the royal hand of Mehevi himself, who, as soon as he had concluded the operation, pronounced me "Taboo."

It is correct to apply the word *tapu* to those things restricted by means of a *kahui*. *Kahui* may be defined as a particular kind of *tapu* applied to property and enforced by artificial means.

The use of sacred names in establishing the right to property is discussed in connection with Names and Naming.

Personal Property

Ornaments, clothing, weapons, utensils, canoes, and houses were regarded as personal property and were privately owned by individuals and families. Houses were regarded more as family than as individual property; and even some ornaments, such as the tortoise-shell crown, seem to have been family rather than individual possessions.

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

THE DWELLING AND ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a well-to-do family in the Marquesas consisted of a large sleeping house, a house that served as a *tapu* eating house for men and at the same time as a storehouse, a cooking house, and a sacred place where family rites were performed. The sleeping houses, like canoes, spears, and all other important possessions, were named. Early visitors speak of the neatness of the precincts about the houses and of the living arrangements (13, p. 28; 22, p. 127), but today they are, almost without exception, slovenly. As many as five or six related families lived in a single establishment (14, p. 113). Garcia (14, pp. 110, 112) speaks of the peace and harmony in which the members of the household, children and adults lived.

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The Sleeping House

342 513 [417] The sleeping house *(fa'e* or *fa'e hiamoe)* stood on the rear half of a stone platform. (For description see House-building.) A ladder consisting of a notched log, or crevices between the stones of the walls, or projecting stones set in the walls of the platform, gave access to the front section of the platform *(paepae)*. On this open section of the platform, in front of the house, was a post *(fata* or *fata'a tu)* with projecting pieces of wood—the stubs of branches probably—on which food and containers were hung. Melville (33, p. 89) describes a small shed, which served as a storehouse, on the platform of the sleeping house in which he stayed. The doors of the houses were built small and low for protection. A man 574 entering another's house must always do so headfirst, so that the inmates 576 could see who he was. He approached the door, placed one foot on the red stone block which formed the sill, stooped, and entered. In leaving, the visitor went to the door, squatted on the sill, raised his hands above his head and placed them against the sides of the door, put his feet down on the platform below the sill, and then rose and went his way. This was the etiquette of entering and leaving the dwelling.

352 The front half of the interior of the house was paved with smooth beach 513 boulders, and here the inmates sat about when they were indoors. The bed space *(oki)* occupied the whole width of the rear half of the sleeping house. Coconut logs running the width of the house formed the front and rear boundaries of this sleeping space. Between the logs there was soft earth, on which were laid fern leaves, grass, and rough coconut leaf mats as paddling, fine mats forming the surface of the bed. To quote Linton's (20) description:

> Over the coconut mats were laid woven pandanus mats of two kinds. Those covering the front part of the bed were called *moena*, and were woven of broad strips. . . . The rear part of the bed was covered with a mat of finer weave, called *kahuaa*, which was not *tapu* to men (as were the *moena*). The *kahuaa* were long and narrow, a single one usually running the entire length of the house. It was placed so that it covered the rear half of the *moena* and the back log of the bed, its outer edge being tied up to the rafters. A narrow mat for the head was sometimes placed over the *kahuaa* to prevent its being stained by the oil with which the natives soaked their hair. . . . A pad of tapa was sometimes tied to the rear log of the bed under the *kahuaa*. Portable pillows called *nouni*, which were made from bundles of shredded *fei (huetu)* leaves wrapped and tied with tapa, were also used.

Dordillon (8) gives as terms used for pillow, *pati'eti'e, paepae u'u, paepae upo'o, u'una upo'o.*

352 Partitions *(pahe'e oto)*, separating a section of the interior of the dwelling, were sometimes made with cloth. Dordillon gives the term *ahu tapu*, meaning an elevation of stones at one end of the house on the inside, a

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place set apart for *tapu* individuals. The space behind the bed, between the back log and the rear wall, was, according to Garcia (14, p. 127), sacred, a place for the gods, and the place where inmates spat (spittle being safe from evil doers here). Bundles of clothing and other articles were slung up to the ridgepole with cords (23, p. 89), and valuables were suspended in baskets in the same manner, the cord sustaining them being passed through a coconut shell to prevent rats from climbing it (24, p. 113). The upper surface of the joist supporting the front eaves of the house served as a shelf, on which small articles were put. Articles were also hung from the small supports that ran horizontally along the inside of the rear wall. Early visitors describe the way in which weapons, utensils, stilts, adzes, drums, skulls, and other things were hung on the walls (16, pp. 159-60; 19, p. 129). Small wooden chests *(tifa, umete)* served as containers of articles of value. Garcia (14, p. 129) and Krusenstern (16. pp. 159-60) describe, in one end of the houses of the wealthy, a small partition of bamboo to protect such sacred objects as the bier of a recently deceased ancestor. A part of the interior furnishings of a sleeping house was frequently an empty coffin, waiting for the body of its still living owner or a coffin containing a corpse slung up under the ridge pole. Lower jaws of hogs were observed projecting from beneath the front eaves of a house at Pua Ma'u, on which were formerly hung containers holding the *popoi* of the *tapu* members of the household. These were the jaws of the hogs that had been eaten at the feast of consecration of the house when it was new. The interior of the house was lighted at night by means of kernels of the candlenut *(ama)* strung on the midrib of a coconut leaf or on a strip of bamboo. This candle was stuck into the side of the house, and a vessel was placed beneath to catch the ashes.

The Fata'a

The structure restricted to the use of *tapu* men was the *fata'a (fata'a moe, nahua)*. This according to accounts on Hiva Oa, consisted of a frame, the dimensions of which were about 15 by 20 feet, raised on posts from five to twelve feet high, over which was a roof or house. This structure stood close by the platform of the common sleeping house. The top of the staging, or floor of the house, was made of planks or logs. On it was a fireplace made of earth and stones, where the food of the *tapu* members of the household was prepared. The *fata'a* served also as a storehouse for the food of these *tapu* persons. Old men, who no longer associated with women, and hence were always *tapu*, lived constantly on the *fata'a*, sleeping there. Women were never allowed to enter but only men and boys. The floor was reached from the ground by means of a ladder, made, according to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit.

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to my native informant, of rungs lashed on poles with sennit. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the posts supporting the *fata'a* were carved and also those of the sleeping house in the establishment of a chief who could afford such elaboration, and that the floor was made of small fau logs, a long notched log serving as a ladder. The oven and cooking fire were on the ground underneath the *fata'a*. It was on the *fata'a* that men devoted themselves to their home industries—the crafts of ornament and weapon-making, the shaping of bowls, the making of *popoi* pounders, and to the carving of these.

The Cook House

The cook house *(fa'e tumau)* was a shed on the ground, thatched with coconut leaf mats, open on all sides or closed on two or three sides, with bamboo or fau rods placed sometimes horizontally, sometimes vertically. The oven was a hole in the earth floor. In it lay the small stream boulders

a *b* *c*

FIGURE 9.—Household utensils: *a*, types of stone *popoi* pounders; *b* and *c*, carved bowls showing typical designs.

that were heated for cooking. Fire was made by friction by the plough method: a short stick of soft wood, usually fau, sharpened at the lower end, was rubbed rapidly in a groove running lengthwise on the surface of a larger piece of soft wood (fau or the dry stem of a coconut cluster preferred), wood dust accumulating gradually in a little pile at the end of the groove away from the operator, until a fine thread of smoke began to rise from this heated pile of dust and then the point of the rubbing stick was thrust quickly into the dust, tinder added, and the glowing bit of dust and tinder were blown into a flame. The burden of making fire every time it was needed was obviated by means of *nanu ahi,* long bundles of coconut sheafs tied with sennit, which when lighted smouldered for a long time. Tongs *(koke mei)* for handling the hot stones in the oven were made of two sticks three or four feet long, preferably of *mi'o* wood. These were held together about a foot from the lower end by means of a loose lashing, which allowed sufficient play for the sticks to be crossed and manipulated as tongs.

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and the child was passed in and out through it. This was done for a month and then the child was carried to the sacred place *(ahu)* to be consecrated. The large and small drums were beaten, the conch-shell *(putoka)* was blown to let the people know that it was the consecration of a new chief. The child was clothed with a loin cloth made of banyan bark and a hair ornament *(hami ouoho)*, after which he was brought to the house door, and the loin cloth was removed. Thereafter, the child could enter by the door.

Provision for the First-Born

Soon after the birth of his first-born son, a father planted for him breadfruit, banana, and coconut trees, paper mulberry trees for making cloth for his loins. The father also began to raise pigs for the child and constructed by the stream a bathing basin *(vai ke'etu)*, enclosed with cut stone slabs, restricted to the use of the *tama tapu*.

For the male first-born of a chief or man of wealth, a new dwelling was built. (See House-building.) The composition of a special song and a feast marked the consecration of this new house. The feast was called *ko'ina u'utina fa'e*, feast at the time of entering the house, or *ko'ina fa'e ha'ame'ie*, feast for removing the *tapu* from a house [*ha'a me'ie*, to release from *tapu* (from *ha'a*, to make and *me'ie*, clear)] When the first child was born or even before, the new house, the *fa'e ta'ina no te tama* (house to hold the child, child's dwelling) was begun. Coincident with beginning of work on the house by the house builder *(tuhuna hakatu fa'e)*, a composer of the chants, called *pope (tuhuna pope)*, began the composition of a *pope tapu*, or sacred chant for the house. Near the father's house a special shelter *(oho au pope)* was built in which the *tuhuna* composed the chant and taught it to those who were to sing it. The *pope* was completed at the same time as was the child's new dwelling. The house completed, the men went to catch fish, some for the ceremonial priest who was to officiate and some for the people at the feast. The house was decorated for its consecration, and then all the family assembled.

The priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* then mounted the platform accompanied by the eldest member of the family and a paternal aunt of the child, each carrying a leaf of *papamo'o* fern *(Polypodium phymitodes)*. The priest then recited the *pu'e no te fa'e* (creation chant for the house). This chant or spell began with an account of the earliest stages of the land's growth and ended by summoning the personifications of the different materials used in the house to contribute their parts. The spell "bound" the new house and all its parts to original creation, thus consecrating it, making the work complete. (See Chants, *Pue.*) This rite made the house *me'ie*

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(clear of *tapu*). All the people, the family and their friends, came upon the platform then, and the feast was consumed. On Nuku Hiva it was said that at this feast each person present seized his allotted share of the food and carried it home. This took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The feast finished, the ceremonial priest was paid, and all went home except the immediate family.

This first night, the father, the mother, the father's sisters and mother's brothers (the *pahupahu* of the child [see Personal Relationship] slept in the house, lying side by side on the floor. At about midnight, the *pope tapu* was sung. (See Chants.) When this was finished, the brothers and sisters tied knots in the loin cloth *(hami)* of the house—strips of the sacred red and white bark cloth that hung from the ridge pole of the house to the center of the bed space. This strip of cloth, called the "loin cloth of the house," was symbolic and was left hanging as long as the house was occupied. The tying of the knots ended the *tapu*. Thereafter, other *pope* that were not *tapu*, were sung. (Another informant said that *uta* were sung after the *pope*—See Chants, Uta.) The loin cloth that girded the loins of the sacred child was, in the first place, *tapu;* in the second place, being associated with his procreating power, his virility, it symbolized strength. The *hami* of the house, therefore, would appear to have stood for its *mana*. The tying of the knot in it fixed the spell.

Instruction of the First-born

The instruction of the first-born in the sacred chants, genealogies, and legends is described under Chants and Legends. In general the teaching consisted in the separate instruction of the child or young man or woman in each of these divisions of knowledge by a *tuhuna o'ono*, the ceremonial priest or expert in lore. The priest worked in a sacred house built for the purpose, the whole labor being subject to strict *tapu*. It is evident that the teaching of the *tona pou* and other chants immediately associated with it, constituted for the sacred male child not only instruction in the chant itself, but also in the processes and proper methods of adz-making, canoe-making, etc., the details of which the chant relates. (See Chants.) In learning these sacred chants, the child learned also the science of creation and at the same time committed to memory the chants or spells that were necessary instruments for forwarding the success of his future undertakings. In his genealogy he learned his personal history and in the legends he became familiar with the history of his land and the exploits of its heroes. The *tama haka-iki*, who had been instructed in the chants, legends, and genealogies, was, therefore, thoroughly equipped with knowledge that would enable him to take his place as a leader in the tribe.

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(*po'u akau nui*). Linton describes also hammer stones, rubbing stones used for dressing wood, and the use of coral and pebbles for smoothing and polishing (20). 324

These blocks were frequently carved with high relief designs representing human figures and geometric designs. (See fig. 13.) Large stone carving in the round was practiced in making the stone images (*tiki ke'a*) of tribal gods, which were carved in exactly the same conventions as were the wood figures. In stonework as in woodwork, the chief instrument used was the adz, serving in this case, of course, more for wearing away and chipping than for cutting. 324 532

[778]

FIGURE 13.—A temple platform.

One of the chants and rites for the sacred first-born boy mentions *fatu*, sacred blocks of hard stone, that were put in the special structure erected for the rite. From these a piece was taken to make the new adz for the boy. This new adz was probably the *toki mana*. In the same chant is mentioned the use of wet sand for rubbing and polishing. Sharpening stones are to be seen everywhere today, blocks of smooth volcanic rock showing the worn spots and grooves made by grinding and sharpening adzes. 324

Gouges (*toki-koma, pakoma*—8) were made of stone as were also adzes. Linton describes the use of stone chisels hafted in wood, and casuarina mallets.

The rocks of great size that were used in constructing some platforms, and smaller stones too heavy for a man to carry were transported by means of a contrivance called *fata'a*, made of poles and logs, enabling a great number of men to lend their strength. The *fata'a* used in carrying great quantities of hogs to the betrothal feast was described as a great litter made by lashing cross-pieces on two long poles, which the men carried on their shoulders. On Ua Huka, a photograph was taken of natives carrying a large stone slung by a rope from a group of radiating poles resting one on top of the other (fig. 14.) At Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa, a 324 342 482

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native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu,* and required consecration of the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

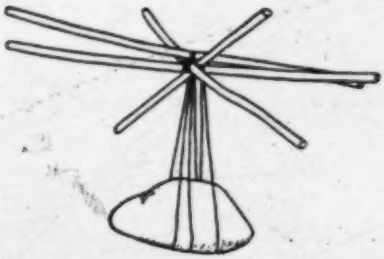

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta,* strike; *akau,* wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

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was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid.

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a background of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch.

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the goddess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ke'etu*) personified, is summoned to come and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ka'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaoka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (*paae*) closing the front of the house.

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342 uprights (*papa*) closing the front of the house. Just as the man who was going to build a new platform and house sent messengers (*ke'e'e*) to his various relatives and friends, summoning them to help and requiring them to bring the various articles such as stones, used in the construction—so the *pu'e* chant relates how messengers are sent to the personifications of the various elements used, summoning them to come and bring their contributions. When all the labor of construction and consecration of the new house was completed, the *ko'ina u'utina fa'e* (feast of entrance) was celebrated, releasing the new dwelling from *tapu* and freeing it for occupation.

THE HOUSE PLATFORM

House platforms (*paepae*) were rectangular, from five to ten feet high and of length and breadth to accommodate the house that surmounted it. Roughly the platform consisted of regular superposed lines of stream boulders (*kiva*) encasing a core of earth. On top there were two levels, a front lower level and a rear level about eighteen inches above the other on which the house itself stood, each occupying approximately half of the width of the surface. The upper level of some houses seen was faced with cut red stone blocks (*ke'etu*) which ran in line with the front edge of the house like a curbing, and behind which was inserted the front posts. The lower level in front (*paepae, upe*) of the house was usually open to the sky. Projecting stones were sometimes inserted into the front or side walls of the platform to serve as steps (*pi'ina*). The most common form of steps, however, consisted in a notched log. The cut red stone curbing of the upper section of some platforms was ornamented with high bas-reliefs of conventional human figures and geometric designs. Stone seats (*keho*) formed a part of some platforms, being made in two ways: either by using a long basalt column which was inserted at an angle and served as a back rest, or by carving out of soft red tufa, a seat with a sloping back. Melville (23, pp. 58-9) describes a house platform enclosed with a picket of canes that must have resembled a porch railing.

THE HOUSE

The details of the construction and a fuller study of house form will be found in Linton's report on the material culture. Briefly, the form of the native house, and its construction may be summed up by describing the general appearance, and the parts of the house. (See fig. 15.) The house was rectangular and stood on the elevated section at the rear of the platform running in the direction of the greatest length. The front (*ao*) was open in its lower section or else this space was closed with pickets of

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bamboo or hibiscus. Above this was a short front roof sloping from the horizontal joist, supported on short front posts, to the ridge pole. The ends of the house were closed with thatching, and the rear consisted of a single wall, sloping directly down from the ridge-pole to the rear of the *paepae* at a very steep angle, this wall being thatched also. The frame consisted of short front posts, supporting a joist to which the short front roof descended; two end posts that stood inside the end-thatching and supported the ridge-pole; the ridge-pole itself, rafters running from the front joist to the ridge-pole and from the ridge pole to the platform in the rear; horizontal rods attached to these rafters running the length of the house along

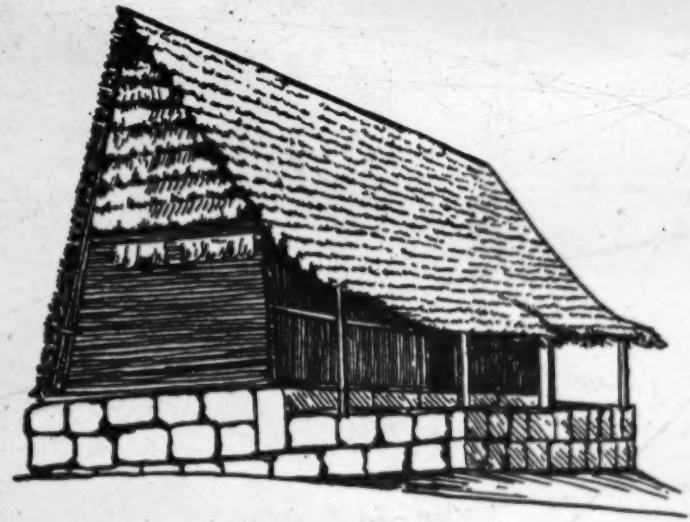

FIGURE 15.—A native house.

the back wall and under the front roofing to which the thatching mats were tied; and at the ends vertical rods, running from the ridge-pole to the ground, to which were attached horizontal rods on which the end thatching was bound.

The thatching (*uhi*) of the house consisted of mats of coconut leaves bound over the ridge pole and lashed to the horizontal rods passing beneath it; the short front roof and the long back wall were thatched usually with coconut leaf mats, though sometimes with pandanus or palmetto; the ends were most commonly thatched with breadfruit leaves strung on cord. If the front part of the house was closed there was a door between the two middle posts. Melville (23, p. 275) describes a slide door "composed

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 of a dozen or more bits of wood ingenuously fastened together by seizings of sennit." Linton found that strips of wood were used to close the doorway in Pua Ma'u.

342 The interior of the house was divided lengthwise into two sections, the *ae'ae*, which was paved with smooth polished beach stones (*kua*) being in 531 front, while the whole back section was made up of the bed space. Ornamentation of houses consisted in the adzing of geometic designs on both front and end posts, and occasionally the carving of the front posts into caryatid-like figures cut in the round. The figures carved on the end posts probably faced inward. Ornamental sennit lashings, red, yellow, black, and white, bound the thatch to the frame and the parts of the frame to each other. These carved designs and ornamental sennit designs were placed so that they were seen and enjoyed by those lying on the bed space.

CANOES AND CANOE MAKING

Process of Manufacture

396 The following account of canoe-making is from Atu Ona, Hivo Oa. On the first day of the work the canoe-maker (*tuhuna vaka*) with his assistants, called *ta akau*, accompanied by a priest to recite the sacred chants (*tuhuna pu'e*), went up the valley where stood the *temanu* tree that had been selected. While the workers stood about the tree, the priest chanted the *pu'e*, recounting the growth of the world. Then the tree was felled, fire being used to aid in the accomplishment of it (according to Linton). This was all that was done on the first day.

On the second day the bark was removed and the work of roughing out the canoe body was begun and continued all day. A temporary shed (*oho au vaka*), open on all sides, was erected over the place where the work was going on. This building, like all other features of the enterprise, was sacred. All the workers were consecrated during the labor, sleeping at the *oho au*.

The whole body of the canoe was completed here. When this work was finished the new canoe body was carried on the shoulders of the workers to the sea where it was placed in another shed (*oho au veka*), which had been erected for the purpose on the shore. As the new hull was carried down the valley, the priest followed close behind chanting the *pu'e*.

The outrigger was made and fitted to the canoe in its house by the sea. When all the work was completed, the canoe and house in which it rested by the sea were decorated with short peeled stakes of fau (*koufau*), decorated with neatly woven green coconut leaves (*kapiripiri*), the reddish cloth made of the bark of the banyan tree, sacred white cloth and human

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.

342 346 417 291 312
- *A.* Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.
- *B.* Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.
- *C.* Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.
- *D.* Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.
- *E.* Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.
- *F.* Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 291 304
- *A.* Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna tuai* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.
- *B.* Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.
- *C.* Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)
- *D.* Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.
- *E.* Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *kausi*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.
- *F.* Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.
- *G.* Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.
- *H.* Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.
- *I.* Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.
- *J.* Taniha Teahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
- *K.* Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.
- *L.* Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.
- *M.* Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.

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1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A

B

C

D

E

F

[End Plate 1]

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

EULOGISTIC CHANTS

PIPINE

The *pipine* was a chant composed in honor of a young woman and sung at a feast prepared to celebrate the occasion of the singing. Such a compliment might be paid by the girl's father, by other relatives, or by friends. The song was taught to a group of young girls who, after thoroughly learning the words, melody, and rhythmic movements, sang it as the central feature of the feast. The girls were seated in rows, and as they sang, accompanied the melody by light clapping with flat hands (*papaki*), varied by the hollow-hand clapping (*pu*), the shoulders and hands at the same time being swung slowly from side to side in rhythm with the melody. The first line was sung alone by the leader or director (*kahua*), and the song was then picked up and carried on by the whole chorus.

In the example presented in melodic figure 4, the young woman is described as preparing herself for the feast to be given in her honor.

POPE

It was the custom in the Marquesas for a father to erect a new dwelling for his first-born son. The *pope* was a song composed for the occasion and sung at the opening of the new house, the song being chanted in the house on the night following the formal consecration and the feast of entrance, by the relatives of the boy. The singing was accompanied by clapping, the hands and shoulders of the singers being swung from side to side in harmony with the rhythm of the song. (See melodic figure 5.)

PUTU

The *putu* (melodic figure 6) was a song for a young man, chanted in his honor at a feast given to celebrate the singing. In a performance observed at Atuona the chorus consisted of men of all ages, but no women. The men stood as they sang, being arranged in concentric semicircles, having the old men with deep voices in the center, the middle-aged men next, and the young men on the outside. They all sang together, apparently in unison, except on the line *"A hau mai te oho he oho,"* which was repeated twice. The first time, this line was sung by the old men in a deep voice (*i a'o*); the second time, by the middle-aged men in a medium voice (*vaveno ae*); and the third time, by the young men in the high voice (*mouna nui*).

The accompaniment consisted of drums and clapping. Throughout the whole song the singers clapped (*papaki*) regularly, one, two, three, four, followed by a rest. Occasionally the tempo of the clapping was doubled.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. Arriving at the King's abode, we made a disposition of our armed force, and then entered a building resembling a summer-house. The foundation was of stone. The sides were constructed with poles, placed horizontally one upon another, some of which were moveable, to admit air and light. The roof, which was covered with leaves of the bread-fruit tree, had only one slope. The front of the building had a door in the middle, about five feet high and three broad.

The inside of this edifice was divided lengthwise into two parts, by means of a large piece of wood, like a beam or rafter, placed on the floor. The division furthest from the entrance was covered with mats, spread upon clean dry grass, and answered the purpose of bed-chamber and drawing-room.

The walls of the building were hung on the inside with several domestic utensils, made of the calabash; and with stone axes, pikes, clubs, and other instruments of war. In one corner of the room was a curious sort of drum, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and covered with the skin of the shark.

Adjoining to this habitation was a small store-room, the entrance of which was from within, and so narrow and low, that it was difficult to creep through it. There was also another tolerably large building or room, apart from the house, where his majesty, on particular festivals, takes his meals.

On our entrance, we were received by the king and queen with great politeness: several of the royal family were present, and in particular the king's daughter-in-law, called the Goddess of the Bay. I questioned this goddess, by means of Roberts,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. remains of a dead body, exposed on a simple board, supported by poles, under a roof of leaves. A considerable period must have elapsed since the body was placed there, as the skeleton only remained. The most pleasing sight in the burying-ground was a kind of monument lately erected to one of their deceased priests. It was constructed in a very handsome manner, was ornamented exteriorly with green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and had an altar within, of by no means a savage appearance.

Having satisfied our curiosity in this melancholy place, we returned to our ship by a road, on which stood many houses; but they all so nearly resembled the king's, though some were larger, that it is not necessary to describe them. The crowd that accompanied us during our stay on shore offered us various articles in the way of exchange, and behaved in so fair and friendly a manner, that I thought these islanders incapable of dishonesty. My ideas, however, were soon changed; for, on arriving at the boats, I found that one of our grapplings had been cut away under water, and carried off in so dextrous a manner, that neither the quarter-master nor the bargemen could conceive how it had disappeared. In this wily business they must have employed the knives we had distributed among them; showing us thereby that they well knew how preferable our instruments, made of iron, were to theirs, made of stone or shells.

Soon after my arrival on board, the king returned my visit, and brought with him a pig, and a stone axe, in exchange for two of my iron axes. As we were just going to dinner, I invited his majesty to partake of it. Of our several dishes he preferred that of pancakes with honey, which he relished so much, that

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by succession, or in any other way. There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and resemble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the prohibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom.

565 342 [356] [264] [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. The magazines are merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves, clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which many navigators have described.

565 351 [289]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

HOUSES

THE MARQUESAN DWELLING AND ITS ADJUNCTS

The establishment of a Marquesan commoner consisted of only two houses, the dwelling and a cook house—an open shed with a frame of the dwelling type. Both buildings stood in a small yard which was often enclosed by a rough stone wall about three feet high. Rich commoners had another house, the store house (*fata'a*), which was usually built near the end of the dwelling. A chief's establishment was much more elaborate, consisting of a dwelling, a cook house, a store house and a men's house or warriors' house which served as an eating place for the chief and as a general club room and assembly place for his male friends. Both the store house and warriors' house were tapu to women. The chief's establishment was always built near the tribal assembly place (*tohua*) and the public sacred place (*me'ae*). Both of these structures were considered the property of the chief.

Very few buildings of aboriginal type are in use in the Marquesas at the present time and no large structures of ancient form have been erected in recent years. The Marquesans appear to have had only two types of houses although there were several minor variations of one of these types. One type, which will be referred to as the small house type, was used for all sorts of small and temporary structures built with a *minimum of* labor. The other, which will be referred to as the dwelling type, was used for residences and for all other large and permanent buildings. Most houses were built on the ground or on stone platforms (*paepae*) but a few structures, notably the store house and the houses in which young people received religious instruction, were raised on posts.

THE SMALL HOUSE TYPE

Small temporary houses were erected for the accommodation of women during childbirth, as dwellings for solitary old people, as places for the tattooing of women and commoners and as camping places in uninhabited valleys. As a rule such houses were built on the ground without a stone platform and were of simpler construction than the dwellings. The framework consisted of two end posts supporting a ridge pole against which two rows of light poles were leaned from either side, forming the rafters. The main timbers were not dressed but the rafters, commonly of fau wood, were stripped of their bark. This bark was twisted into strings and later used to tie on the thatch. The timbers of the framework were lashed together with bark string. The thatch was usually made of coconut mats arranged longitudinally, the lower edge of each mat overlapping the top of the one below. These mats were fastened to the rafters by strips of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 fau bark passed around the heavy split midrib which formed the upper edge of the mat. The completed house was triangular in cross section, being in fact a simple roof with the eaves resting on the ground. One of the ends was usually closed with coconut mats, arranged like those on the roof, and tied to the end rafter on each side and to the end pole. Houses of this type were simply shelters made with the minimum of labor, and were never decorated. They are still in occasional use throughout the Marquesas, and appear to be the same in all the islands.

THE DWELLING TYPE

THE HOUSE PLATFORM (PAEPAE)

The dwelling type includes practically all Marquesan buildings, whether domiciliary or ceremonial, although certain religious structures reveal a modified form. Nearly all permanent houses in the Marquesas were built upon stone platforms, known as *paepae*. The use of stone platforms was so nearly universal in Polynesia that it seems probable that the idea was brought to the Marquesas by the original settlers, but the nature of the terrain was such as to greatly stimulate its development. In most of the valleys it was necessary to either terrace or excavate in order to have a level floor and the abundance of loose stone made terracing easy. Many of the *paepae* on hill slopes were simple terraces with a trench at the rear to carry off water. The front height of such *paepae* depended, of course, upon the slope and the width of the level space desired. Front walls as much as ten feet high were not uncommon but the back of the terrace was usually at the level of the original surface, or only sufficiently raised to keep the floor from being flooded in rainy weather.

Even on level ground nearly all the houses were elevated on stone substructures which were sometimes remarkably massive. The natives stated that these level ground *paepae* were intended to keep pigs from entering the house. The alternative of erecting the house on piles was prohibited by the danger that children might get under it—a serious matter under the old regime, as anything which passed over a child's head became tapu and had to be destroyed. *Paepae* on level ground ranged from simple pavements—a form usually limited to dry localities—to massive structures six to eight feet high. The average height for all the Marquesan *paepae* is about three feet. They are highest in Nuku Hiva from which island they steadily decrease southward, the Fatu Hivan *paepae* being, on the whole, the smallest in the group. All *paepae* were rectangular in outline, the upper surface being divided longitudinally into two unequal parts one of which was from eight to thirty inches higher than the other. The higher part, which was always at the rear, served as the floor of the house and the lower part as a veranda and general lounging place. In Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were much wider in proportion to their length than in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, many of them being almost square, but the house floor was everywhere long and narrow. The local differences are due to the greater or less width of the veranda part. 342

The perfect *paepae* contains stones of three sorts: large irregular stones, preferably water-worn, used for the walls; flat, water-worn bowlders, used to pave the veranda and house floor; and large rectangular slabs of cut stone (*ke'etu*), used to face the front of the elevated house floor. The *paepae* show all degrees of variation, from this ideal arrangement, depending upon the materials available, the importance of the owner and the local excellence of the mason's art. In Nuku Hiva the *ke'etu* facing of the house floor was a practically constant feature. In Ua Huka *ke'etu* facings were common but not constant and in Hiva Oa they were limited to a few of the better built houses, usually those of chiefs. In Fatu Hiva *ke'etu* were very rare. The use of flat water-worn bowlders for paving was much more usual but even these were sometimes dispensed with. In one of the interior valleys of Hiva Oa practically all *paepae* were built of rough stones throughout. The *paepae* of a chief's house in the valley of Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, had the house floor paved with large flat slabs which had apparently been split like European flag stones. As Stewart (59, p. 291) mentions the use of flags in this or a similar structure in Haka Ui in 1831, their presence can scarcely have been due to European influence. 342 333

After the introduction of metal tools cut stone in the form of rectangular blocks was frequently used for *paepae* and in a few recently built *paepae* the stones were set in ordinary lime mortar. 324

The building of the *paepae* was supervised by a special *tuhuna* who drew on the ground the outline of the structure and with his own hands laid the first complete course of stone. He merely supervised the remainder of the construction, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. The same *tuhuna* also supervised the construction of *me'ae* and other ceremonial structures, but he appears to have been simply a master builder, not a priest.

After the first course of stone had been laid, the space thus enclosed was filled with earth and stones, and the process was repeated after the laying of each succesive course until the desired height was reached. The stones of the side walls were usually arranged so as to give the largest possible external surface, although a phrase in Dordillon's Dictionary (17) *"E tuku te kea matapao kaoko"* (Solid masonry—to place the long way of the stone in the thickness of the wall) shows that a more stable form of construction was known. After the side walls had been constructed the *ke'etu* were set on edge along the front of the proposed house floor, a third or even a half of their width usually being imbedded in

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

342 the *pacpac*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their
393 tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *pacpac*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *pacpac*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

342 A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

352 One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *pacpac* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *pacpae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *pacpae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*. *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

342 In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *pacpae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *pacpae*. [184] Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they [178] were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *pacpae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

in which they occur are unquestionably those of ordinary dwellings. No pits were observed in the dwelling *paepae* of Hiva Oa and the natives had no knowledge of such a feature. The single example seen on Fatu Hiva was in the valley of Omo'a in a *paepae* built for a chief's house; it was explained as a place for the temporary storage of food. The occurrence and use of these pits is of interest in connection with the skull pits found in many *me'ae* throughout the group.

All the Marquesan valleys afford an abundance of loose stone, a condition which, coupled with the constant necessity of building platforms and terraces, led to a development of the art of dry stone masonry truly remarkable in a people otherwise as primitive as the Marquesans. It would be difficult for Europeans to improve on the workmanship shown in many of the ordinary *paepae*. The builders seem to have taken pride in using the largest material available, bowlders weighing half a ton being quite common in these purely utilitarian structures.

POSITION OF THE HOUSE

As a rule there was only one house on a *paepae*, but a few *paepae* were observed on which there appeared to have been two, and possibly even three houses arranged longitudinally on the raised rear portion. None of the sites of this sort looked to be very old, and it seems probable that this was a recent development. Such a house group consisted of one large structure, the dwelling, with a small detached building at one or either end. The earth of the unpaved floors of the small buildings contained much ash and charcoal, proving them to have been cook houses. Normally a single house covered the entire rear raised section of the *paepae*, the floor of which was divided longitudinally into two almost equal sections. The front section, which formed the house floor, was paved with flat water-worn bowlders, usually small and of uniform size. The rear section, which formed the foundation for the bed, was unpaved, and its surface stood six to eight inches below the level of the floor.

FRAMEWORK OF THE HOUSE

The main timbers of the house were commonly made from breadfruit wood, but *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) was also employed, especially when the posts were carved into tiki form. The timbers were carefully hewn and dressed and sometimes were elaborately carved. The essential elements of the framework were the end posts and the ridgepole, the front posts and the stringer. The great length of some of the ancient houses, upward of a hundred feet, necessitated the use of additional posts in regard to which Gracia says (*28*, p. 123), "If it is thought on account of the length [of the house] that the first two posts are not sufficient they plant a third just in the middle of the hut, or even a row." None of these very large structures have survived, and it is impossible to give additional details.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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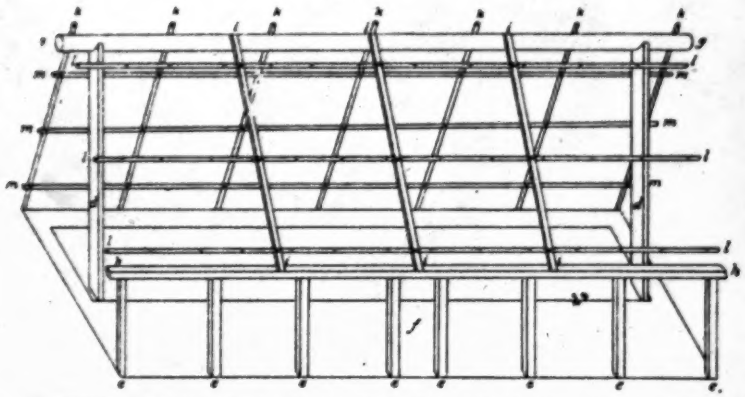

FIGURE 2.—Diagram showing framework of a house: *d*, end posts; *e*, wall posts; *f*, door; *g*, ridgepole; *h*, stringer; *i*, rafters of front roof; *k*, rafters of back roof; *l*, cross braces of front roof; *m*, cross braces of back roof.

In ordinary houses the ridge pole is supported by two posts placed one at either end. These posts are triangular in cross section and taper slightly toward the top, where they are deeply notched to receive the ridgepole. (See fig. 3.)

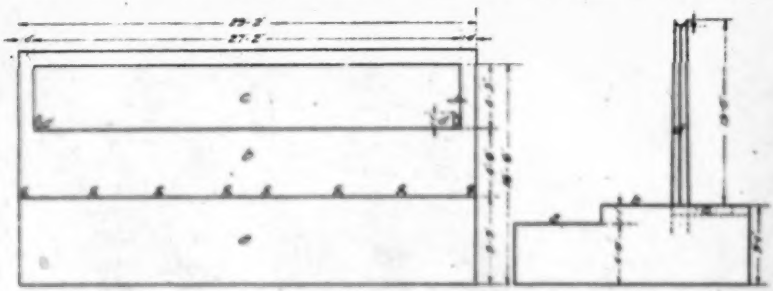

FIGURE 3.—Diagram of a house: *A*, ground plan; *B*, end view showing elevation of the paepae. The parts of the structure indicated are: *a*, paved space in front of the house; *b*, paved floor of house; *c*, bed; *d*, end posts; *e*, wall posts.

Measurements of an end post from a typical dwelling house are: height, (from surface of *paepae*) 13 feet; width at bottom, 12¼ inches; width at top, 8 inches;

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thickness at center (bottom) 4½ inches; thickness at edges, 2 inches; depth of notch for ridgepole, 6 inches. The thickness of the edges remains fairly uniform for the entire length, but the central thickness decreases slightly toward the top. The end posts are planted at either end of the bed space, 6 to 8 inches within the line of the end wall of the house, their broadest sides being toward the interior of the house. In the houses of Hiva Oa the forward edges of the end posts rest against the rear edge of the paved house floor, but in those of Nuku Hiva the posts are placed a foot or more further back, giving the rear roof a much more abrupt pitch.

In all the houses seen the ridgepole was hewn from a single log and ran the entire length of the house, projecting slightly beyond the end walls. Informants say that a palm log was formerly used for this member, but all those seen were of breadfruit wood. Much care was evidently expended in shaping the ridgepole properly. The ridgepoles seen in the Northern Division were round and had been rubbed down to a smooth surface, while those of Hiva Oa were polygonal in cross section with eight to twelve facets of approximately equal width, each of which ran the entire length of the timber. The ridgepole rested in the notches of the end posts, but was not attached to them in any way.

The front posts in ordinary dwellings varied in height from three to five feet, depending upon the size of the structure. In Hiva Oa and Tahu Ata they were commonly rectangular in cross section, but Stewart (59, pp. 233-236), who gives the best early description of Marquesas houses, says that those used in Nuku Hiva were round. The front posts of a large house on the island of Ua Pou were rectangular in the center, but tapered toward the top and bottom, and were almost round at the extremities. In Hiva Oa and Tahu Ata the central pair of posts, which formed the jambs of the door, were cut in such a way as to leave a projecting semicircular shelf at the top. When the posts were carved in the form of tiki a short cylindrical neck was usually left projecting above the head of the figure. The upper ends of the posts were either finished with a semicircular notch, like that on the large end posts, or with a neck which fitted into a hole pierced through the front stringer, or were simply left flat. It is probable that posts with notched ends or necks are ancient and that posts with flat ends were made after the introduction of metal tools.

There were usually six front posts, although houses with four and eight front posts were observed and large houses may have had more. The central pair were rather closely spaced, serving as the jambs of the door, while the others were placed at equal intervals between these and the ends of the house. In most of the structures visited the front posts were not planted in the platform; they were held in place at the bottoms by a deeply notched stringer running the entire

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342 335 length of the house—probably a modern development. In the old house in Ua Pou they were planted immediately behind the *ke'etu* facing the raised house floor, and informants say that holes edged with flat stones were left for the front posts at the time the floor of the house was paved.

Three types of top stringer were used: A simple rectangular beam; a round log similar to the ridgepole, but of smaller size; and a peculiar L-shaped form, said to have been characteristic of the Southern Division in ancient times. Rectangular stringers were normal in recent structures and all those observed were either attached with nails to the flat tops of the front posts, or pierced with holes into which necks on the tops of the front posts fitted. The round stringers rested in semicircular notches in the tops of the front posts, and the only one seen in position was not attached to the posts in any way. The L-shaped stringers were hewn from single logs, and were placed outside the front posts, with their short arms against them and their tops level with the tops of the front posts. At each post the vertical part of the stringer was pierced with four holes, two above and two below, through which sennit lashings were passed back and forth around the front post. When the roof was in place these lashings were invisible from the outside. They were usually amplified on the inside to give an ornamental effect.

In a house at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, there was an arrangement of posts and stringers similar to that of the front wall across either end of the house, and a single rectangular beam, resting upon the rearmost posts of the end walls, ran along the under surface of the rear roof and was attached to it at eight points. It is almost certain that this feature is due to European influence. A peculiar form of end frame, said to be a modern development, is described on page 295.

THE HOUSE ROOF

342 The front roof of ordinary dwellings was supported by three heavy rafters which were commonly hewn and squared. One rafter was placed in the middle of the house over the doorway, and the other two halfway between it and the ends of the house. (See fig. 2.) There were no heavy rafters at the ends of the roof, where they might be expected. The lower ends of these rafters rested upon the stringer, and their upper ends against the ridgepole, without extending beyond either. In well built houses the rafters were attached to both the stringer and the ridgepole by elaborate sennit lashings.

The framework thus formed was supplemented by additional rafters of bamboos, or peeled poles of fau, placed vertically at intervals of two or three inches, continuing above the ridgepole and crossing the small rafters of the rear roof. They also projected beyond the stringer and below the line of the front wall, forming narrow eaves. The light rafters were held in place by three longi-

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tudinal poles, usually single bamboos, which ran the full length of the inside of the roof. The two outermost poles were placed eight inches to a foot above the stringer and below the ridgepole; the third pole was placed midway between them. They were attached to all the rafters by lashings of sennit or bark string. Both the front and rear roofs projected six inches to a foot beyond the end walls.

One house in Hiva Oa (Pl. XL, *C*) had a narrow porch supported by an additional row of posts, topped by a stringer. These posts were planted in the *paepae* about two feet in front of the house wall. The rafters of this porch were inclined at a lower angle than those of the roof. This feature was not observed elsewhere and was probably due to European influence.

The rear roof extended from the ridgepole to the ground. It was usually supported by eight main rafters, but these were not hewn so far as observed. They were simply peeled hibiscus poles of slightly larger diameter than those used for the remainder of the roof. In some houses all the rafters of the rear roof were identical in size and material. Between the main rafters were smaller poles placed two or three inches apart; at the peak they crossed the similar poles of the front roof forming a crotch. These smaller poles were secured in position on the rear roof by three cross poles of bamboo, the highest being opposite the top crosspiece of the front roof, the lowest about eighteen inches above the floor, and the third midway between them. All the rafters were lashed to these cross poles.

All the early descriptions of Marquesan houses mention the rear roof as perpendicular or descending at a very steep angle, and the old pictures show this feature, also a front roof inclined at less than forty-five degrees. Actual measurements prove that the old authors have exaggerated both these features. The pitch of the rear roofs ranges from eighty degrees in some of the houses of Nuku Hiva to as low as sixty-five degrees in an old dwelling on Hiva Oa. The pitch of the front roof seems to have been rarely, if ever, less than fifty degrees, with about sixty-five degrees as normal. In one old house in the valley of Hana Hehe, Hiva Oa, the pitch of the front and rear roofs is about sixty-five degrees for each.

The roofs of all Marquesan houses were thatched, and a variety of material was employed. In recent buildings coconut mats appear to be the most common, but two or even three sorts of thatch were not infrequently used on the same structure. The thatching mats, which were eight to twelve feet long and one foot to eighteen inches wide, were made by splitting a coconut frond down the midrib and interweaving the leaflets of either half to form a long narrow mat of checker-work pattern. Mats of this sort are still in common use in most parts of Polynesia. The mats were placed on the roof either singly or in pairs, with the midrib edge up and were tied to every third or fourth rafter with loops or sennit or sewed on with bark string. A large wooden needle was used for sewing. The

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342 thatch was lashed to each rafter with a single cord running the height of the roof. The bottom tier of mats was laid on first, and the successive tiers were laid on shingle fashion, with a deep overlap. As the successive layers were rarely more than two or three inches to the weather, a well-made roof would be from four to eight mats thick.

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324 An almost equally common form of thatch was made from leaves of the breadfruit tree. Long straight upland reeds, or occasionally hard-wood shoots, were gathered and the leaves were strung on these by holes pierced at the juncture of the stem and leaf, the top of one leaf resting against the bottom of the next. These rods were then attached to the rafters in overlapping rows in the same manner as the mats. When in position the leaves stood edgewise on the roof. Thatch of this sort, although shaggy and rather unpleasing in appearance, is very effective and is said to outlast that of coconut mats. Where bread fruit leaves were used for thatching, coconut mats were usually substituted for the first two or three rows.

In ancient times a third form of thatch, made from palmetto leaves was used. The leaves were strung on light rods at intervals of twelve to eighteen inches, the rod passing from side to side through the juncture of the leaf and stem. The rods were tied to the rafters so that the leaves lay flat and overlapped like shingles. According to informants palmetto was commonly used to thatch the houses in *me'ae*, but was not tapu for other structures. The only example seen was on the front roof of an old chief's house in Ua Pou.

The use of pandanus for thatch is mentioned by Jardin (33, p. 51), who says that this material lasted longer than either coconut mats or breadfruit leaves, but the practice is now obsolete and only one fragment of doubtful authenticity was seen. This fragment, found in the debris of a house of Tahitian form, consisted of a hardwood rod over which the leaves had been doubled, with the two ends pinned together by a splinter a short distance below the rod. A somewhat similar technique is followed in the making of sugar cane thatch in Tonga.

Grass was very rarely used for thatch but the chief of Tetai, one of the small side valleys in Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, is remembered as having occupied a grass-thatched house, the frame of which was of ordinary Marquesan form.

342 The method of closing the peak of the thatched roof was very simple and effective and is still employed for all thatched roofs. In the crotch formed by the crossing of the small rafters above the ridgepole, a small pole was laid with its top flush with the rafter ends. Several layers of coconut mats were then laid longitudinally over this and bent down on either side so that their lower edges extended some distance below the top of the last tier of thatching. These mats were then secured in place by long wooden splints passed through them from side to

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side between the main ridge pole and the small pole. On some houses a layer of pandanus leaves was laid over the ridgepole before the small pole was put on. These leaves were then secured by an additional pole on either side of the roof placed in the angle formed by the intersection of the small rafters.

THE HOUSE WALL

The Marquesan house was substantially an open shed with the rear roof extending to the ground. The walls merely served to close the openings in the structure and could be removed wholly or in part without effecting the stability of the house. Work sheds and cook houses were unwalled, and it is probable that in former times some more pretentious structures were also quite open, for several end posts were seen that were carved on both sides. The outer side would have been invisible in a walled house. Most buildings were provided with end walls, although many ceremonial structures and even dwellings were open in front. The framework of the end walls usually consisted of four or more light poles arranged like the sticks of an inverted fan, with one end resting on the edge of the *paepae*, the other against the ridge pole. The mats or leaf-packed rods used at thatch were tied to these poles just as they would be tied to the rafters. When the ends were not thatched a number of bamboos or peeled poles about an inch and a half in diameter were lashed horizontally to the uprights. These poles were placed either touching or at intervals of about an inch, and were cut to fit accurately the width of the aperture. In some houses the upper part of the end walls was of thatch, the lower part of poles. (See Pl. XL, *C*.)

The entire front wall with the exception of the door space was occasionally covered with thatch, but the practice does not seem to have been common. In a house visited in Hokatu, Ua Huka, one-half of the front was thatched with coconut mats; the other half was left open. As a rule, however, the front wall consisted of a series of separate units or panels each of which filled the space between a pair of front posts. These panels were made of bamboos or peeled poles about an inch and a half in diameter. In all the front walls seen the poles were placed side by side and fastened together by cords running over and under so as to form a sort of heavy pole-mat flexible laterally but not longitudinally. (Similar pole-mats were used as coffin covers in Hiva Oa and Fatu Hiva.) These mats were then strengthened by three crosspieces lashed to the back, at right angles to the poles and at equal intervals. The panels were usually placed between the posts in such way that the crosspieces were horizontal, and fitted into notches cut in the sides of the front posts, but occasionally they were placed with the braces vertically, the poles of the mat then being horizontal. In one house two light poles running from the door posts to the end of the house were added on the outside, but these were not attached to the panels.

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THE HOUSE DOOR

342 No doors of the ancient type have survived, but good descriptions were obtained from informants. The doorway was normally in the middle of the front wall, the central pair of posts being placed relatively close together to form the jambs, while the top stringer of the wall formed the lintel. In many houses, however, a separate lintel was placed some distance below the stringer. The doorway was then so low that a person entering was compelled to bend almost double. The object of the low doorway was purely defensive. Both high and low doorways were used in all the islands in ancient times. Two forms of door are said to have been used with the high doorways. One of these consisted of two coconut leaf mats of the sort used for thatch, one of which was tied to either door post. To close the aperture the edges of the mats were drawn together and tied. The second form of door was made by planting two strong posts in the house floor, one close behind either doorpost; two heavy planks, as high as the doorway and more than half as wide, were then hewn from breadfruit wood and placed between the door posts and inner posts on either side of the doorway, the whole forming a crude double-leafed sliding door. To close the door the two planks were slid out from either side of the doorway meeting the middle. Stewart (59, pp. 233-236) speaks of "a small door in the middle, furnished with a shutter, in a slide, to be closed or opened at pleasure." Informants in Hiva Oa said that the small doorways there were provided with a single-leafed sliding door, although the exact arrangement had been forgotten. According to informants in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, the doorways, whether high or low, were arranged with inner posts, like those already described, but were closed by laying a number of timbers of breadfruit wood, one above the other, in the space between the front posts and inner posts.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE HOUSE

352 [342] The interior of the house consisted usually of a single room, without partitions, but Kruesenstern (34, p. 161) and Gracia (28, p. 123) both say that in the better houses one end was divided off by a bamboo partition and was used as a storeroom for valuables and Handy (32) reports tapa curtains called *kahu pahee ioto* sometimes used in Nuku Hiva. There was no furniture; even the stools used by some of the other Polynesian groups were lacking. The bed formed an integral part of the house. A strip comprising the rear half of the house-floor was left unpaved at the time of the construction of the *paepae*, and this was leveled and filled with soft earth, free from stones, until its surface was six to eight inches below the paved forward portion of the house-floor. Two carefully dressed palm logs eight inches to a foot in diameter were then laid along either edge of the depression. The straightness and polish of these logs were the pride

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352 of the ordinary type. It is probable that a single idea of defilement by contact
513 with the ground underlay this use of elevated beds and the construction of the *fata'a* and *tona pou*. (pp. 294-5). It is interesting to note that in Tonga according to McKern (41) the bed of the Tui Tonga was always elevated, although it appears to have simply been built up with rolls of tapa.

HOUSE DECORATION

342 In the Marquesas most dwellings and practically all ceremonial structures
531 were decorated to some extent. The *paepae* might be decorated with ornamental masonry, with figures carved in relief on the *ke'etu* facing of the raised house floor, or with small stone statues. In the house proper the decorations consisted of carved posts, ornamental lashings and occasionally of pigs' skulls. The use of human skulls as house decoration is doubtful.

DECORATION OF THE PAEPAE

The use of ornamental masonry in dwelling *paepae* seems to have been limited to the island of Nuku Hiva. There many of the house platforms had a row of *ke'etu* built into the front wall one or two feet below its top. The *ke'etu* were laid flat, with the long edge out, and from a little distance gave the effect of a narrow horizontal stripe or band—the regular width and reddish color contrasted pleasantly with the darker tint of the rough stones forming the bulk of the platform. *Ke'etu* so placed may have helped to tie the wall firmly to the earth and rough stonefill of the *paepae*, but long rough stones would have served equally well. In view of the labor required to quarry and transport the *ke'etu* it seems probable that their purpose was purely ornamental, and a proof of the wealth and influence of the owner of the house.

Some of the large dressed slabs of stone which faced the front of the raised house floor were carved. Two examples were noted: one in the valley of Haka Moui, Ua Pou; the other in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa. The Haka Moui site (32) is very unusual. The *paepae* was built with steps in three levels, one faced with large *ke'etu*. The *ke'etu* of the highest step were decorated with a zigzag pattern of ornamental adzing, and several of the other slabs bore full *tiki* figures or heads carved in very high relief. It is said that this structure was the residence of a chief; and became a *me'ae* upon his death. The decorations on the *ke'etu* of the Pua Ma'u site were much less elaborate; the main decoration of its *paepae* consisted of inset stone figures. On the upper side of one of the slabs facing the house floor a turtle, five inches long, was carved in low relief. The projecting end of the same slab bore a curious oval knob near the top and a beak-like projection at the bottom. This end carving is suggestive of a tenon for the attach-

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ment of another slab, but as it projected beyond the end wall of the *paepae*, which was still in good condition, the carving was probably ornamental. 342 531

The use of stone figures for dwelling *paepae* was observed only in the valley of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, although certain structures in Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva, which were decorated in this way may have been the house *paepae* of religious personages. The Pua Ma'u *paepae* were certainly the dwellings of chiefs, and had been occupied as residences within the memory of persons living in 1920. In all of them the decoration consisted of three stone figures which were inset between the large *ke'etu* facing the raised rear section of the *paepae*. One of the figures was placed approximately in the middle, and the other two on either side about midway between the central figure and the ends of the platform. The heads of the statues projected wholly or in part above the level of the house floor, and in one instance the head had been carved in full round. All the other figures were carved in half to three-quarters round. A tenon approximately two-thirds of the width of the body was left on the back of the figures. The slabs adjoining the figures fitted closely against the tenons on either side so that when seen from the front, the statues appeared to stand in front of and against the wall rather than to be incorporated in it. (See Pl. XLI, *D-E*.) The faces, with the exception of one unfinished figure, were of the usual highly conventionalized Marquesan type, while the carving of all the figures was remarkably fine. The statues in one *paepae* are known to have been made in a neighboring valley and brought as gifts to the chief of Pua Ma'u at the time he built the house less than a century ago, but these figures represent the highest development of the Marquesan sculptor's art. They are truly admirable in both design and execution and prove that this phase of the native culture was anything but decadent at the time of the European conquest. 342 532

DECORATION OF THE HOUSE

The most important features of the house decorations were the carving of certain parts of the frame and the use of ornamental sennit lashings. In the carved decoration two distinct techniques were employed—the timbers were either sculptured into human figures, or ornamented with non-naturalistic designs. [531]

HUMAN FIGURES

The end and front posts of most ceremonial buildings and of at least some chiefs' dwellings were carved into human figures (Pl. XLI, *B*). A number of examples were seen, but only one site was visited in which the original position of the figures could be determined. In this structure, which was certainly ceremonial, the figures supporting the ridgepole had been placed with their faces toward the interior of the house. The corner posts of the front wall also faced inward; 346 532

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The end post of a small mortuary house was decorated at the bottom with a small caryatid figure less than two feet high. The undecorated upper part of the post, which was of the ordinary triangular form, was nearly eight feet in length. No other specimens of this sort were seen and the form was probably uncommon.

Carvings on Posts

The use of house posts carved with non-naturalistic designs was quite common in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Only one doubtful example of post carving was seen in Nuku Hiva and Stewart's excellent description of the dwellings of that island makes no mention of this sort of decoration although he speaks of ornamental lashings (59, pp. 233-6). An informant of Ua Huka said that the house posts on that island were never carved with designs although he remembered the use of ornamental lashings and described them in some detail. It seems probable, therefore, that this type of decoration was little used in the northern islands of the group.

House posts decorated with carved designs retained their original rectangular or triangular cross section, the designs being rather shallowly incised upon the flat surfaces (Pl. XLI, *C*). Front posts were usually carved on the outer and inner sides; the lateral surfaces were left plain. Most end posts were carved on the flat inner side only, but a few were observed in which the two outer surfaces were also decorated. No two posts were exact duplicates, but all the posts from a single house showed more or less uniformity in the motifs employed. This was probably due to their being the work of a single artist.

Some of the posts had been carved with metal chisels, but originally the designs appear to have been hewn upon the posts with a special form of narrow-bitted adz. With this implement the artist worked free hand without a model, which accounted for the coarseness and irregularity of much of the work. The designs were never continuous from top to bottom, but were applied in horizontal zones of varying width. On a few posts there was a suggestion of an additional longitudinal division of the surface into two equal parts. The two surfaces of the outer sides of end posts were ordinarily treated as separate units. The grooves of the carving were usually semicircular in cross section, the raised surfaces between them being narrow and sharp edged. In some curvilinear designs small uncarved spaces were left, but as a rule the artist showed no appreciation of the value of plain surfaces and covered every inch of available space with carving.

In carving house posts angular-geometric and curvilinear patterns were used, but on analysis the number of motifs proved to be small. The designs in the posts studied may be given as follows:

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ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC DESIGNS

1. Straight horizontal lines. Bands of these were used to separate zones of more elaborate design and also to fill zones. This motif with its variations is shown in Figure 4, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.
2. Straight diagonal lines. Used to fill zones (fig. 4, *e*).
3. Series of parallel zigzag lines running horizontally (fig. 4, *f*).
4. Bands of alternate interlocking triangles (fig. 4, *g*).
5. Groups of four triangles whose bases are formed by the sides of the zone. The interiors of these triangles are filled with lines parallel to the base, lines parallel to one side, or a series of V's whose sides are parallel to those of the triangle (fig. 4, *j*).
6. Large diamond shaped figures covering the length and breadth of a zone, leaving four triangles at the corners (fig. 4, *k*).
7. Small diamond shaped figures arranged in close order to fill an entire zone (fig. 4, *h*).
8. Irregular combinations of diagonal lines (fig. 6, *d*).

The Marquesans appear to have never used checkerwork, patterns formed of groups of small triangles, or cross hatching, in their house post decorations.

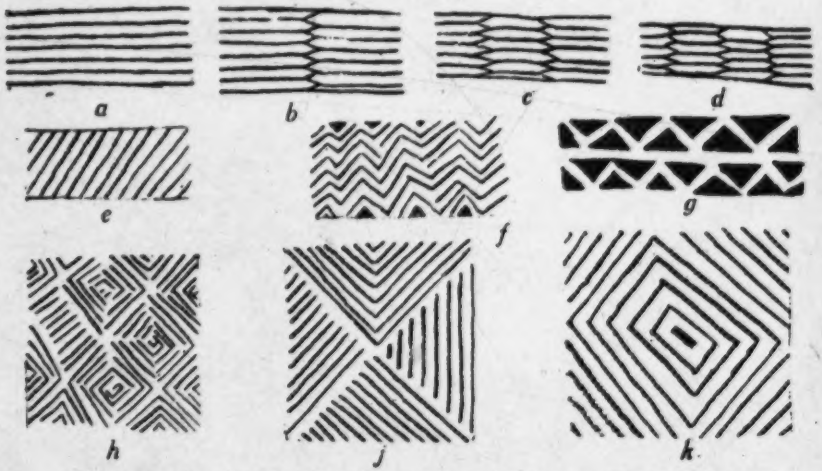

FIGURE 4.—Angular-geometric designs carved on house posts: *a*, straight horizontal grooves; *b*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-half the width of the post; *c*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-third the width of the post; *d*, horizontal grooves with length equal to one-fourth of the width of the post; *e*, diagonal lines; *f*, parallel zigzag lines; *g*, interlocking triangles; *h*, small diamond shaped figures; *j*, groups of four triangles; *k*, large diamond shaped figures. Reproduced from rubbings.

CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

The curvilinear designs used in house post decoration may be reduced to a few simple elements, but these are combined with each other and with angular-geometric designs to form a bewildering variety of patterns. The basic elements are:

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1. Circles, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *a*).
2. Ovals, either single or in concentric series (fig. 6, *b*).
3. Portions of circles and ovals, either plain or filled with lines parallel to the circumference, (fig. 5, *c*, *d*, *e*).
4. Series of parallel wavy lines (fig. 5, *b*.)
5. Irregular curves (fig. 5, *a*.)

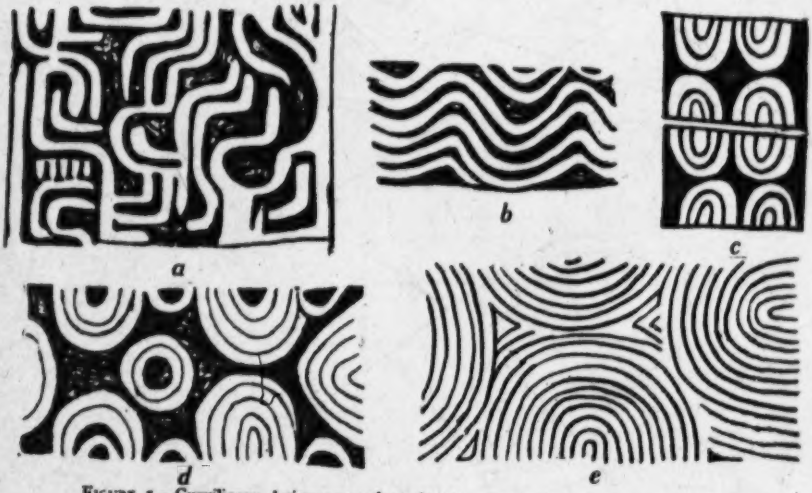

FIGURE 5.—Curvilinear designs carved on house posts: *a*, irregular curves: *c*, *d*, *e*, segments of circles or ovals; *b*, series of parallel wavy lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

When used in patterns the arrangement of these design elements is never perfectly symmetrical, although in some designs, notably those formed by four semicircles or semiovals (fig. 5, *a*), there is some approach to balance. Many of the patterns consist almost entirely of irregular curves and are completely unsymmetrical, no two elements corresponding in size or position. Interesting features of the curvilinear decoration are the complete absence of the conventionalized human faces used in all other forms of Marquesan carving and the practical absence of spiral forms.

COMBINED ANGULAR-GEOMETRIC AND CURVILINEAR DESIGNS

Angular-geometric and curvilinear designs frequently occur together in the same zone, the common arrangements being:

1. Curvilinear designs, especially concentric circles or ovals, superposed upon angular-geometric designs (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).
2. Curvilinear designs used to fill one or more of the elements of a geometric pattern.
3. Gradual transitions from angular-geometric to curvilinear designs, as in the case of some bands of parallel lines which grade imperceptably from zigzags at one end to wavy lines at the other. In all such combinations the angular-geometric motifs appear to be the basic ones.

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342 531 An interesting feature of the house post carvings is the occasional use of toothed lines suggestive of those used by the Maori in many of their carvings. Examples of the use of such lines are shown in figure 6, *c*, *e*.

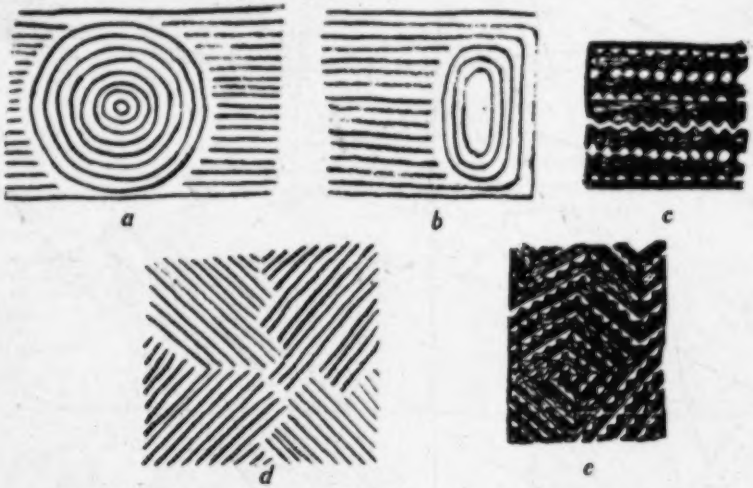

FIGURE 6.—Designs carved on house posts: *a*, circles superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *b*, ovals superposed upon straight vertical grooves; *c*, toothed lines; *d*, woven design; *e*, spiral with toothed lines. Reproduced from rubbings.

It is easy to conceive of the development of house post carving from an appreciation of the esthetic value of the adz marks left after the dressing of the timber. In many objects which are not actually carved these marks are arranged with evenness and regularity and give a decidedly ornamental effect. What may be considered as a intermediate stage between such adzing and actual carving was observed in a set of end posts from Nuku Hiva and another from Fatu Hiva. The inner surface of these posts had been adzed into a series of horizontal grooves six to eight inches wide with a maximum central depth of one-half inch, the ridges separating the grooves being narrow and sharp. The transition from such ornamental adzing to the simpler geometric designs would be easy.

ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS

342 531 284 Ornamental lashings were probably more commonly used as decorations for the house than carvings, but because of the perishable nature of the materials few examples have survived. The material employed for lashings was a

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The material employed for lashings was a flat three-strand sennit plaited from coconut fiber. This fiber was obtained from both the husk and the leaf sheath. The sheath fiber was considered the better, probably because its greater length rendered possible a smoother plait. The only colors seen were a dull black and the natural red brown, but Stewart (59, p. 236) mentions the use of yellow and white sennit as well. The plaiting and dyeing of this sennit have been described on pages 378 and 379.

The only complete set of ornamental lashings seen in the Marquesas was in an old house in the valley of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. The lashings were applied to the juncture of the three main rafters of the front roof with the ridge pole, to the junctures of all the rafters of the front and rear roofs with the lowest crosspieces, and to the junctures of the main rafters of the rear roof with a squared beam which ran along its under surface at the height of the top of the front wall. This top beam probably did not exist in really primitive structures. According to informants, ornamental lashings were used for the attachment of the front posts to the stringer, of the main rafters of the front roof to the stringer, and of all the cross poles of the roof to the rafters. Stewart (59, p. 236) says that the front posts were "generally neatly hewn and ornamented by braids of sennit . . . tied on in horizontal stripes in diamonds or in checks, in a pretty and fanciful manner." As the front posts in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva were usually carved this was probably a Nuku Hivan practice. The posts of houses in Nuku Hiva are also said to have sometimes been covered with white tapa under the lashings.

A considerable number of lashing designs were employed but their use has been discontinued for many years and only two patterns were seen. These appeared on different parts of an old house in Atu Ona. According to informants the designs used for house lashings were made by a special *tuhuna* who originated them from string figures. Different designs were used for the front posts, the rafters, and for other structural parts. Another special *tuhuna* put them on. The designs seen were ovals with a black center and brown rim, used at the points of attachment of the small rafters and the cross pieces of the front and rear roofs (Pl. XL, *F*), and crosses with a band on either side, used at the juncture of the main rafters with the lowest crosspiece. At the juncture of the central rafter of the front roof with the ridge pole two of these designs were placed side by side.

Methods of Making Lashings

The methods of making lashings may be described as follows:

For the oval lashings two cords were used, one of black and the other of brown sennit, both being carried from the left along the top of the crosspiece. The black cord was passed twice around the rafter to form a double hitch whose upper and lower loops were respectively above and below the crosspiece. The cord was then turned back to the left, carried up the

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left side of the juncture of the rafter and crosspiece, and around the rafter just above the crosspiece from right to left. The half hitch was tightened and the strand brought into a vertical position on the outside of the crosspiece. The loose end was then passed across the vertical strand as close to the rafter as possible, down its right side, across it again at the bottom, and behind the rafter from left to right. The flatness of the sennit cord prevented this loop from slipping over the vertical strand. The cord was carried across the original strand and the first loop as close to the rafter as possible, up the left side of the original strand, and across the original strand and first loop at the top, close to the rafter. The cord was then passed behind the rafter from right to left. This was repeated until the oval had a width of five strands at the center. The end of the cord was then at the upper left hand corner of the figure. It was passed across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, across its bottom and up its left side behind the crosspiece. This completed the black part of the figure. The strands were pulled taut and the black cord carried on in front of the rafter to the next rafter to the right.

The brown cord, coming from the left, was brought across the top of the black lashing in front of the rafter, down its right side behind the crosspiece, across to the left, and around the rafter from left to right. The end was then at the lower right hand corner of the figure. Two loops up, around the rafter, and down on the opposite side of the figure were then made, the method being the same as that used with the black cord. This gave to the oval a width of nine strands, the two outer strands on each side being brown and the rest black. The cord was then carried across to the left, up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing again at the top, with the end carried on to the next rafter on the right.

The cross lashing was much more complicated. It can be made as follows: Bring the black cord from the left along the top of the crosspiece, pass it around the rafter from right to left, down over the crosspiece, around the rafter from left to right, up the left side of the rafter behind the crosspiece, and through the upper loop. Tighten lashing, pass the end down the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece and up, over the front of the crosspiece, placing it close against the original outside strand on the left. Pass the end downward behind the rafter diagonally to the right, bringing it out at the lower right corner. Bring it up over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter from left to right and diagonally down over the crosspiece right to left. Carry it behind the rafter from left to right, across the front of the rafter, and up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Wrap twice around the crosspiece and pass the end around the rafter below the crosspiece from left to right. Bring it up diagonally over the crosspiece from right to left, placing the cord close against the left side of the first diagonal. Pass the end around the rafter left to right, and bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left. Pass around rafter left to right, across to left in front of rafter, and up left side of lashing, behind crosspiece. Leave black.

Bringing the brown cord from the left pass it over the black lashing below the crosspiece, up the right side of the lashing, back to the left, and under itself from the rear. Pull the loop tight. Pass the brown cord twice around the crosspiece, taking care to have these strands lie on the left of the four black strands already in position and close against them. Pass the end around the rafter above the crosspiece from right to left, diagonally down over the crosspiece from left to right, around the rafter from right to left, up over the crosspiece diagonally to the right, and around the rafter from right to left. Leave brown.

This finishes the first half of the figure, and should give a vertical band of six strands, the two strands on the left being brown, which has on its right an X figure with arms three strands in width, the first strand on the left side of each arm being brown.

Take up the black cord, which was carried up the left side of the lashing behind the crosspiece. Carry it across the lashing in front of the rafter, down the right side of the lashing, across the lashing again, and up behind the rafter diagonally left to right, the end emerging at the upper right hand corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally right to left, around rafter left to right, and up diagonally over the crosspiece right to left. Pass it down behind the rafter diagonally left to right. Wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry the end across the lashing below the crosspiece to the left, and up diagonally behind the rafter, emerg-

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ing at the upper right corner. Bring it down over the crosspiece diagonally to the left, around the rafter left to right, and diagonally up, right to left. Pass it down behind rafter diagonally, emerging lower right corner, and wrap it twice around the crosspiece. Carry end across lashing below crosspiece to the left, up the left side behind the crosspiece, and across the lashing to the right, in front of rafter. This completes the black part of the lashing. 342 531 284

Take the brown cord, which has been carried around the rafter from right to left above the crosspiece, and carry it down over the crosspiece diagonally from left to right. Pass it around the rafter right to left, and diagonally up over the crosspiece left to right. Bring it down behind the rafter diagonally right to left, across the lashing below the crosspiece to the extreme right edge of the figure, and wrap twice around the crosspiece. Make one complete turn around the rafter below the crosspiece from right to left, carry up the right side of the lashing, across to the left, down left side and carry on to next figure on right.

The complete lashing should consist of two vertical bands each of six strands, the two outer strands in each hand being brown and the four inner black. Between these there should be an X whose arms are six strands in width, the two strands along the edges of either arm being brown and the four central strands black.

OTHER FORMS OF DECORATION

No indication of the use of paint in the decoration of house timbers was found, and no reference was made to it by informants. Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 347), however, speaks of seeing in the island of Tahu Ata, a small house, with posts painted red and yellow, which sheltered a corpse. This form of ornamentation was probably never used for dwellings. 342 531

Informants in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, stated that men's houses belonging to chiefs were often ornamented with the lower jaws of wild pigs, several of them being attached to the inner side of the front stringer at regular intervals. The jaws were placed angle up, with the tusks projecting below the stringer. These tusks were useful as well as ornamental, serving as hooks on which to hang small objects.

The early accounts of the Marquesas contain several references to prepared skulls which were used to decorate the houses of victorious warriors, but no details of the arrangement are given and as such trophies were also worn as ornaments it seems probable that they were simply hung up in the house and not incorporated in the structure. [727]

HOUSE FURNISHINGS

Although furniture, in the European sense, was lacking, miscellaneous objects were to be found in any inhabited Marquesan dwelling. The bed space was covered with mats; wooden bowls and boxes lay about; calabashes and baskets hung from the walls or ridge pole; and tools and weapons were hung up or were thrust into the thatch. Porter (49, p. 113) says that there were "stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats could not get them" and "cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log and made with great neatness." No other reference to these cradles has been found. From the ridgepole hung a number of bundles containing new tapa, or the gala dresses and 352

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and eaten as part of the ceremony. The house itself appears to have been of the ordinary dwelling type modified by greatly increasing the height of the roof. One house of this sort in Pua Ma'u is said to have been "three fathoms long, three fathoms wide, and ten fathoms high," but the height at least is almost certainly exaggerated. The end posts were made of several pieces of lumber spliced one above another and placed like those of an ordinary dwelling. There were three front posts. The front was open. The roof was thatched with breadfruit leaves and decorated with figures of birds made from red tapa and split bamboo, between which were placed *koufau* (bundles of sticks). There is said to have been a bird figure for every fathom of height. Within the house there was a *fata'a* called the *anana'u*. The only other objects in the house were three pieces of wood placed one on the *fata'a*, one half way up the house, and another at the top. Each of these pieces of wood was decorated with four designs called *tava* which were so arranged as to form an open square. A *taputoho* lived in this house.

Tona Pou were houses tapu to women in which the men assembled to chant the *puc* (name chant). They are said to have been raised above the ground on posts and, according to Handy (32), were like the *fata'a* except for their larger size.

Canoe houses appear to have been purely utilitarian and did not exist in certain valleys because of the practise of carrying the canoes up into the *tohua* (assembly place) or of dismembering the canoes and distributing the parts among the various owners. They appear to have been most common in valleys having good beaches and the sites of the canoe houses in Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, are still remembered. An old man there, who had seen some of these structures, said they were open at one end, like the modern boat houses, but he could give no details of their construction. A modern house in the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, suggested a possible form for these structures. One end of this house was like that of an ordinary dwelling. The other end was open. Two heavy posts of equal height were planted on either side. Their tops were connected by a heavy curved beam, convex side up, from the center of which a short vertical timber extended to the peak of the roof, supporting the ridgepole.

SUMMARY

The Marquesans employed two main house types, the canoe houses possibly forming a third. The simpler houses consisted of a roof resting upon the ground, while in the larger and more elaborate the roof was raised on one side only. Houses of the second type were normally built on terraces or platforms of stone which were often of considerable height. They were used as dwellings and sacred structures. When used for ceremonial purposes some of them were modified by

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342 raising the entire house on posts, or by making the roof of disproportionate height. Houses of both types appear to have been used in all the islands, but the larger type shows more or less local variation in the form of the *paepae*, in size, and in decoration. In Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka the *paepae* was as a rule much wider in proportion to its length than in the islands further south and in Nuku Hiva many *paepae* were provided with a pit for tapu objects. The use of cut stone as edging for the house floor, although of sporadic occurrence in all the islands, was most frequent in Nuku Hiva and least frequent in Fatu Hiva. The decoration of the dwelling *paepae* with ornamental masonry appears to have been limited to Nuku Hiva, and its decoration with stone figures, to Hiva Oa, with a single doubtful example from Nuku Hiva. As a class the houses of Nuku Hiva were the largest in the group and those of Fatu Hiva, the smallest and most poorly built. Carved posts are said never to have been used in the dwellings of Ua Huka, were rare in Nuku Hiva, but were very common in Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. Ornamental lashings were used everywhere in the Marquesas, but appear to have played a more important part in the decoration of houses in the northern than in the southern part of the group.

COMPARISON OF POLYNESIAN HOUSES

342 171 Structures corresponding to the Marquesan small house type (p. 271) are of rather wide occurrence in Polynesia. They are recorded from Hawaii, where they represent the original form from which the other house types were developed. They are also found in Tonga and in the Society Islands. The dwelling house type, as described on page 272, is characteristic of the Marquesas, and so far as known is peculiar to that group of islands.

It seems probable, therefore, that the original settlers of the Marquesas brought with them a knowledge of the small house type and that the dwelling type is a later local development. The small house, while easily made, was inconvenient on account of the lack of head room and the large amount of waste space under the edges of the roof on either side. To develop the dwelling type from the small house type it was only necessary to raise the roof on one side and prop it up with posts placed along the outer edge. Even now small houses are occasionally enlarged in this way. The use of a stringer along the front of the house to keep the rafters from sagging between posts would be a step requiring no great inventive genius, while an increase in the pitch of the rear roof, cutting down the waste space along its lower edge, would soon follow. The complete absence in the Marquesas of houses with both front and rear walls is rather curious as the natives were in occasional contact with the Tuamotus and Society Islands, where walled houses were in regular use.

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On the basis of house type, Polynesia as a whole may be divided into two parts: a central part, including Tonga, Samoa, and to a lesser degree the Society Islands, in which the houses were oval, with rounded apses; and a marginal portion including New Zealand, the Marquesas and Hawaii, in which the houses were rectangular. In the central section there was no distinction between floor space and bed space, and the platform was unimportant. Some of the houses were furnished with wooden stools. Legged pillows of wood or bamboo were in regular use. In the marginal section there was a permanent division of bed and floor, a stone platform was used everywhere but in New Zealand and there was no furniture.

The Marquesan house had little in common with the central Polynesian type, and appears to be intermediate in form between the two varieties of the marginal type—that is, the Maori and the Hawaiian. In the arrangement of the frame and the common use of a stone platform and side entrance, it resembles the Hawaiian form. On the other hand the use of carved decoration links it with the Maori form, as does also the occurrence of a slide door. The *fata'a*, or store house on poles, finds no parallel in Hawaii or central Polynesia, but it closely resembles the Maori *pataka*. The use of ornamental lashings is absent in both Hawaii and New Zealand, but is highly developed in many parts of the central area. The best explanation for these facts appears to be that the Maori, Marquesan and Hawaiian forms are descended from a common ancestor, but that the Maori and Marquesan houses have been affected by some influence which introduced house carving and the *fata'a* type of structure, an influence which did not reach Hawaii. The Marquesan houses were then further modified by the introduction of ornamental lashings, a feature which did not reach either Hawaii or New Zealand.

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LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the inter-tribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group.

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built	Small and less well built	Small and low
	Wide, some square	Long and narrow	Long and narrow
	Much cut stone	Cut stone rare	No cut stone
	Ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry	No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare)	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Tauvaha	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted bead ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

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Comparative Table Material Culture

Houses

	Marquesas	New England	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Platform	Constant, large, rectangular	Absent	Nearly constant, rectangular	Rare in historic times, rectangular	Limited to temples and chiefs' houses, oval	Rare or lacking
Shape	Rectangular	Rectangular or round (South Island)	Rectangular	Oval or rectangular	Oval, rarely round	Oval
Framework	Ridge pole and end posts	Ridge pole and end posts	Ridge pole and end posts or right triangle roof support	Indirect ridge pole support or end posts	Three posts together in center and ridge pole; detachable space	Indirect ridge pole support, end posts not used
Entrance	Side	End	Side or end	Side	Sides of house open	Side
Door	Wooden slide door or mat	Wooden slide door	No door or mat hung in doorway	No door or mat hung in doorway	———	Mat door
Interior	Permanent division into floor and bed	Permanent division into floor and bed	Division into floor and bed common but not constant	No division in historic houses; present in ancient times	No internal division	No internal division
Decoration	Ornamental lashings, posts carved with designs and into Caryatid figures	Posts carved into Caryatid figures, carved panels, woven panels, painted rafters	Rudimentary ornamental lashings, no carved decoration	Ornamental lashings, no carving	Ornamental lashings, no carving	Ornamental lashings, no carving
Furniture	No stools, permanently fixed log pillows, soft pillows	No stools, soft pillows or solid wooden pillows	Stools (rare) soft pillows	Stools, legged pillows	Legged pillows, no stools	Legged pillows, no stools
Houses on posts	(Pata'o) Store-house and dwelling for old men; elaborately decorated	(Patoko) Store house for food and tapa objects; elaborately decorated	Men's house, no decoration	Small storage places for sacred objects	No houses on posts	Occurrence of store houses on posts uncertain
Sacred houses	High roofed	No sacred houses except those for instruction, those like dwellings	Like dwellings, also tapa covered pyramidal structures	Like dwellings	Like dwellings	Like dwellings

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HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND FURNISHINGS: *A*, BACK REST, SIDE VIEW; *B*, BACK REST, REAR VIEW; *C*, OLD HOUSE AT ATUONA, HIVA OA; *D*, FURNISHINGS AND CONSTRUCTION OF END WALL; *E*, CLOSE VIEW OF BED; *F*, ORNAMENTAL LASHINGS OF REAR BEAM.

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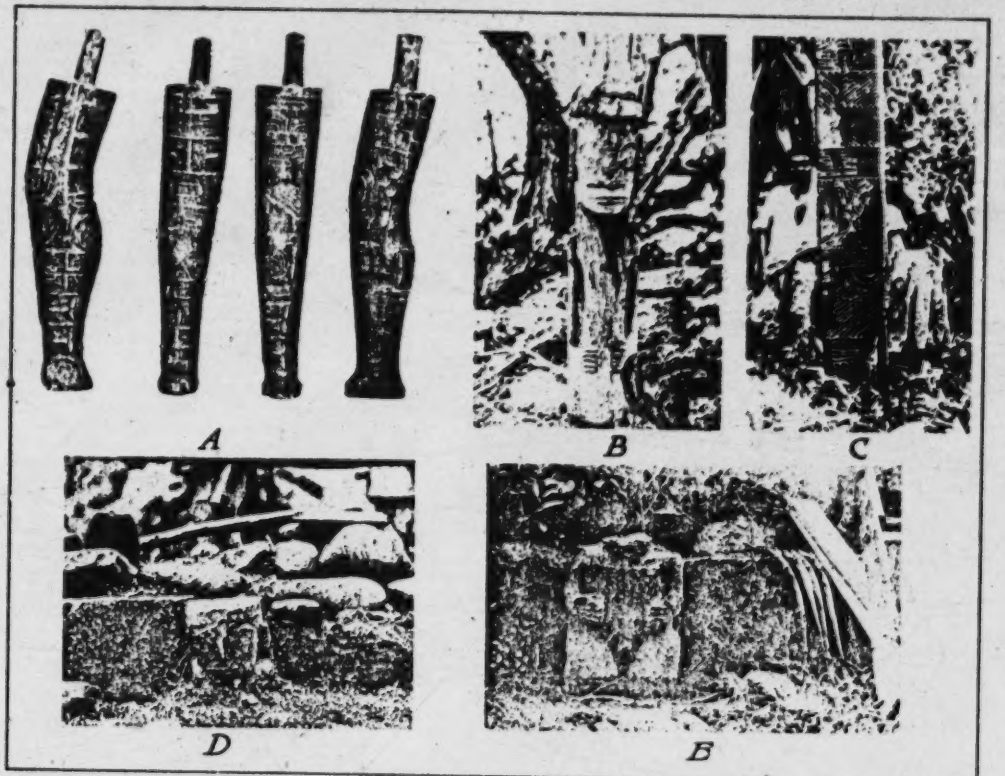
[2nd plate 1]



HOUSE DECORATIONS: *A*, WOODEN LEGS WITH TATTOO DESIGNS, PROBABLY USED FOR BED; *B*, ATLANTID HOUSE POST, FROM SACRED HOUSE ON ISLAND OF UA HUKA; *C*, CARVED HOUSE POST, ISLAND OF HIVA OA; *D*, *E*, STONE FIGURES FROM DWELLING PAEPAE IN PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

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End plate 27

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10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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Households were graded
in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households.

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, social classes were not fixed.

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

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for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

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Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

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They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

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parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains a considerable amount of information on general and special

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skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture [114] contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans [648] who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts [797] being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one [304] of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's.

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship 584 followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the 834 present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others 182 was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ [171] is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia.

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents 883 some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. 178 In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some [833] occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the [342] formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times.

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which 571 produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult 831 female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. 178 In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual